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TWO STATUES OF PALLAVA KINGS AND FIVE PALLAVA INSCRIPTIONS IN A ROCK-TEMPLE AT MAHABALIPURAM

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,, II. Right side—Siṁhavishṇu and his two queens.

Left side—Mahēndravarman and his two queens.

TWO STATUES OF PALLAVA KINGS AND FIVE PALLAVA INSCRIPTIONS IN A ROCK-TEMPLE AT MAHABALIPURAM.

IN November, 1922, Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, B.A., while acting as Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, paid an official visit to **Mahābalipuram** (**Māmallapura** as stated in its inscriptions or **Māvalivaram** as it is popularly called) to make a further search for inscriptions and images in the **rock-cut temple** of **Ādivarāha-Perumāḷ** at that historic village. Steps had no doubt been taken in the year 1912-1913 to remove the many modern mud walls that hide from view the fine old sculptures in the several cellars of the spacious rock-cut verandah in front of the central shrine of this temple. But the Madras Government decided (G.O. No. 175 Public, dated the 9th February 1914) not to interfere in the matter, on the advice of the Collector of Chingleput. Consequently, the old sculptures of the temple, so far as they were then available, including only one of the royal groups now published, could be photographed by flash light. The label explaining the latter was not then visible, although a strong suspicion as to its existence was not altogether given up. The fresh attempt of Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar has been more than successful, since another similar group of a king with two queens has also been discovered and the labels explaining both groups of images uncovered and copied. Besides these two label-inscriptions two other Pallava inscriptions in the rock-cut verandah, and an inscribed slab of the Pallava King Nandivarman Pallavamalla built into the floor outside the temple, were also secured. I have thus received, in all, from Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, 9 photographs of sculptures including that of the chief image of Varāha-Perumāḷ of the central shrine, the ground plan of the cave showing the rock-cut portions, modern additions, the positions of the images, the inscriptions and the rock-cut pillars, together with triplicate ink-impressions of the five new Pallava inscriptions mentioned above.[1] Photographs of the two royal groups and the five inscriptions alone are reproduced in the accompanying plates and the rest are described below.

[1] Two other inscriptions of this temple, herein called Varāhasvāmin, are already known, *viz.*, one on the front (outer) wall (S.I.I. Vol. I, p. 126, No. 90) and another in a niche (*ibid.* p. 134 and Carr's *Seven Pagodas*, pp. 132 ff).

The rock-cut verandah of the temple is supported in the front row by four lion-based octagonal pillars and by two similar half-pillars standing against each side of the rock at its ends, and, in the back row, again, by two lion-based octagonal pillars of the type common to Pallava architecture of the period of Rājasiṁha-Narasiṁhavarman II in the beginning of the 8th century A.D. The images represented in the niches are those of—(1) **Durgā** with 8 arms, standing in the *tribhaṅgī* posture wearing a high crown and treading with her left foot the severed head of the buffalo-demon—a beautiful group and a true copy of that given at page 200 of my 'South-Indian Gods and Goddesses'; (2) **Sām-ānya-Lakshmī,** with her feet resting one on the other, on a seat decorated with fruits and creepers. The maids carrying water-pots and unguents by the side of this Goddess, are beautifully carved, and may, judging from their head-dresses, represent the Pallava royal ladies described in the sequel. These figures are also the same as those represented in figure 118 in 'South-Indian Gods and Goddesses' at page 188, but more clear and elegant; (3) **Gaṅgādhara**—a form of Śiva of the type described at page 132 and shown in figure 86 of the same work, supporting with his right upper arm a braid of his locks on which the river Gaṅgā is supposed to descend; (4) **Brahmā,** the standing four-faced figure of the usual Pallava type (see fig. 6 in 'South-Indian Gods and Goddesses') and (5) and (6) **Vishṇu**[1] and **Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa,**[2] each attended by two kneeling and worshipping figures at their feet and flanked by *dvārapālas*. One of the *dvārapālas* to the right of the Vishṇu figure has a five-hooded serpent shadowing his head. This may be the serpent-God Ādiśēsha who is always connected with the Boar-Incarnation of Vishṇu.

The most interesting discoveries, however, are the historical statues,—the two groups of **Pallava royal personages** found in the two cellars of the front verandah, facing each other, on its right and left sides (Plate II). The first of these on the right side near the Sāmānya-Lakshmī group consists of a king seated on a three-legged (?) cushioned stool, in the *sukhāsana* posture, flanked by his two standing queens whose prominent jewels are the huge ear-rings and bracelets of the usual Pallava type. Both the queens wear crowns fashioned in the style known as the *karaṇḍa-makuṭa,* while the king himself wears the simple cap-like high crown, ear-rings, and an under-garment (*dhōtī*) tucked up at the waist as even in modern times. His right hand shows the *chinmudrā* or the contemplative posture indicating the right perception of truth.[3] The legs of the seat on which the king is seated are shaped artistically like those of a lion, and it looks as if the seat was a true representation of the Pallava-*siṁhāsana*. Whether the ladies wear *sārīs* or not, cannot be exactly made out. The second group opposite to this is in a cellar near the Durgā group of images

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[1] See "South-Indian Gods and Goddessess", p. 20, where, however, the attendant worshippers and *dvārapālas* are not seen.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 128. It is very doubtful if this is a figure of Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa. In his right hand Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa has to hold an axe or trident, the mark of Śiva, and in his left the conch, the mark of Vishṇu. Here, in the left hand is the disc instead of the conch and in the right a rosary (?) instead of the axe.

[3] This posture of the hand is shown, generally, in the case of gods like Dakshiṇāmūrti and of highly sacred ages and religious teachers.

and consists of a king and two queens, all standing, the king with his left hand holding the right hand of one of his queens—perhaps the senior—and with his right, pointing his fore finger towards the image in the central shrine. The crowns worn by the king and the queens are similar to those described in the first group, but the robe of the king and the *sārīs* of the queens are quite royal in their appearance, the former hanging in folds and showing the inner lining (?) of the robe. Besides, from the way in which the dress fits the arms, waist and breast of the figure wearing it, one is led to infer that the robe must have been cut, sewn and fitted as at the present day. In addition to the large ear-rings and pendants, the jewels worn by both the king and the queens include necklaces. The breast cloth is absent in the case of the ladies.

These two groups of royal personages bear, as already stated, labels at their tops. Above the group on the north side of the verandah is the following inscription in Pallava-Grantha characters (Plate I, D) :—

श्रीसिंहविण्णपोत्ताधिराजन् ॥

"The glorious *athirāja* (*adhirāja*) Siṁhaviṇṇa-Pōttra (i.e., Siṁhavishṇu-Pōta)."[1]

Above the second is the following inscription also in similar Pallava-Grantha characters (Plate I, E) :—

श्रीमहेन्द्रपोत्ताधिराजन् ॥

"The glorious *athirāja* (*adhirāja*) Mahēndra-Pōttra."

From these labels it is evident that the groups represent the Pallava kings Siṁhavishṇu and Mahēndra. But who were these Siṁhavishṇu and Mahēndra ? Siṁhavishṇu, the father of Mahēndra I, was the founder of the last ruling line of Pallavas and the first conqueror of the Chōḷa country about the end of the 7th century A.D., as described in the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates.[2] Narasiṁhavarman I and II—the grandson and the great-great-grandson respectively of Siṁhavishṇu—were also known by the name Narasiṁhavishṇu[3] (or briefly Siṁhavishṇu). Similarly Mahēndravarman I the son of Siṁhavishṇu was the first great Pallava king, the inventor of rock-cut temples in Southern India. In the Pallava geneaology of this Siṁhavishṇu line[4] there are two other kings bearing the name Mahēndravarman. It is therefore difficult to say which of these groups of three similar names the representations in the niches of the Varāha-Perumāḷ temple exactly signify. Palæography may, however, help us in settling the question, although the differences in writing separated by less than a century do not count for much. The characters of these records when examined carefully and compared with the remarks of Dr. Vogel given in his valuable article on the Yūpa inscriptions of King Mūlavarman at Koeti in East Borneo, show that (1) the syllable *śrī* with its rectangular shape

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[1] Pōta, pōttādhirāja, pōttarasa, or pōttaraiyan was a family title of the Pallava kings and was perhaps, as suggested by Prof. Hultzsch, connected with the Tamil *pōttu* or Skt. *pallava* ' the sprout ' from which this line of kings is supposed to have sprung ; see S. I. I. Vol. II, p. 341 n. Adhirāja as defined in ancient Sanskrit works, was a rank obtainable among kings ; see the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao's notes on "Kings, Crowns etc.," in the *Modern Review* for February 1917, pp. 150 ff.

[2] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 510, v. 10.

[3] Dr. Fleet's *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.*, p. 323, Table.

[4] See *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 506, Table.

is closely allied to what appears in the Koeti inscriptions and in the Dharmarāja-Ratha inscriptions at Māhābalipuram ;[1] (2) that *ma,* though without its characteristic indenture (or as Bühler terms it, the notching of the base line) at the bottom, is like the one found in some of the inscriptions of Mahēndravarman I, (e.g., see plate facing p. 12 in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XVII and plate facing p. 152 in *ibid.* Vol. IV) ; that (3) *ha* is exactly similar to what we find in the Maṇḍagappaṭṭu inscription of Vichitrachitta (Mahēndravarman I) : and (4) that so also is the letter *pa.* The letter *ra* is more archaic. In Pallava records, generally, *ra* is a vertical line with a tube, long or short, curving to the left and attached to the bottom of the letter. In the records under publication, it shows only the vertical shaft as in the early Brāhmī script without the characteristic tube or hook of the Pallava age. The Koeti (East Borneo) Yūpa inscriptions of King Mūlavarman of about the 5th century A.D. as determined by Dr. Vogel,[2] sometimes show a *ra* without a hook (see e.g., in inscription A, end of line 7). The Campā inscription of Bhadravarman does not show the hook in the letter *ra.* The letters *ja* and *sa,* however, of the present records are the same as those used in the inscription of Rājasiṁha Narasiṁhavarman II in the Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara cave temple at Śāḷuvaṅkuppam.[3] Dr. Bühler, remarking on these two letters under the head 'the middle variety of the Grantha alphabet' says that an innovation in the case of the former is "the transposition of the vertical of *ja* to the right end of the top bar and the conversion of the central bar into a loop connected with the lowest bar". So also in the case of *sa* he says that an innovation introduced is "the combination of the left hand vertical of *sa* with the left end of the old side limb and of the right end of the side limb with the base stroke." These forms of *ja* and *sa* occur for the first time in the Kūram Plates of Paramēśvaravarman I, the grandson of Mahēndravarman I (C. 650 A.D.), and may therefore be supposed to have been invented in the time of that king. The *ṇa* of the records under discussion must be ascribed to the time of Mahēndravarman I.

Thus it appears that these label inscriptions were engraved at a time when the characteristics of the script of the time of Mahēndravarman I had not altogether been forgotten and yet when some innovations were being introduced in the Pallava-Grantha characters. Consequently, I am of opinion that the characters of these labels must belong to the time of Paramēśvaravarman I and that the sculptures too, on which the records are engraved, must have been contemporaneous with them. It may not be far from the truth, therefore, if it is stated that the royal groups represent **Mahēndravarman I,** the originator of rock-cut temples in Southern India and his son **Narasiṁhavarman-Siṁhavishnu I,** the inveterate foe of the Western Chalukya king Vikramāditya I (A.D. 655 to 680), and distinguished in history by the title **Vātāpikoṇḍa.**

The two other inscriptions copied from the rock-cut verandah of the Varāha-Perumāḷ temple confirm the above date for these writings, and throw light

[1] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. X, Plate facing p. 12.

[2] The little hook attached to the long vertical of letters is considered to be a characteristic of the southern alphabets by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel in his pamphlet on the Yūpa Inscriptions from Koeti, p. 223.

[3] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. X, Plate facing p. 12.

on the non-sectarian creed of the early Pallava kings. The one on the lintel above the figure of Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa contains the following well-known Paurāṇic verse on the ten **Avatāras of Vishṇu** with a slight variation and is inscribed in the very same Pallava-Grantha characters[1] (Plate I, C) as described above :—

. . . . . [2] ाहस्य [3] नारसिंहश्च वामन[:।*] रामो रामस्य[3] रामस्य[3]
बुद्ध[:] कल्की च ते दश ॥

The verse mentions the ten *avatāras* of Vishṇu, viz., the Fish, the Tortoise, the Boar, the Man-Lion, the Dwarf, Rāma (i.e., Paraśurāma), Rāma (i.e., Dāśarathi Rāma), Rāma (i.e., Balarāma), Buddha and Kalkin. It may be observed that sometimes this well known verse is recited with Kṛishṇa substituted for Buddha.

Dr. Bloch writing on the subject of "the Vaishṇava invasion of Bodh Gaya"[4] remarked that the earliest literary reference to the ninth *avatāra* of Vishṇu (viz. **Buddha**) is found in a work of the 12th century A.D. and that the Hindu notion of Buddha being an *avatāra* of Vishṇu must have arisen out of the *pīpal* tree with which Buddha's 'enlightenment' is intimately connected, while the tree itself is worshipped by the Hindus as Vishṇu[5] from even pre-Buddhist times down to the present day. It is not impossible that this suggestion of the learned doctor is the apparent explanation for the Paurāṇic tradition which identifies Buddha with the ninth *avatāra* of Vishṇu. No Paurāṇic account, however, in describing the descent of Buddha connects him with the *pīpal* tree under which he attained his *nirvāṇa*. Invariably they accept him as an *avatāra* of Vishṇu himself who purposely incarnated on Earth to mislead the *asuras* and thereby secure an easy victory for the *suras*. Here evidently, the term *asuras* refers to the followers of Buddha who did not accept the Vedic injunctions as regards the existence of God, the performance of sacrifices, etc., and *suras*, to the followers of the Vedas. This Paurāṇic theory of Buddha's intentional mislead in matters of Vedic ritual was perhaps an interpolation inserted after the crushing defeat which the Buddhist doctrine must have received at the hands of the Advaita teacher Śaṅkarāchārya, whose date is placed somewhere about the 8th century A.D. In the small poem *Daśāvatārastōtra*, which is attributed to him Śaṅkarāchārya describes Buddha—though the latter was his religious opponent—in very high terms as a great sage (*yōgin*) seated in the *padmāsana* posture in deep meditation, and indicates thereby that he recognised Buddha as an *avatāra* of Vishṇu. The Saṁhitās for which Dr. Schrader in his *Introduction to the Pāñcharātra Saṁhitā* fixes the 8th century as the *terminus ad quem*, speak of the fallacious systems, the Buddhist *Śūnyavāda* and the Ārhata-*Śāstra* of the Jainas, as those which were revealed by the Lord himself in his Buddha and Ṛishabha *avatāras*. At Sirpur, in the Central Provinces is a shrine of about the 8th century A.D. in which are found side by side, the images of Rāma and Buddha, the latter being

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[1] The letter *na* is somewhat carelessly engraved ; *ma* has the notch in the base line ; *ra* is without a hook and so also is *ka* ; *sa* is the same as the one employed in the Paramēśvaravarman inscriptions.

[2] The missing letters must be मत्स्य: कूर्मो वर° now hidden from view by a modern wall.

[3] Read श्च.

[4] A. S. R. for 1908-9, p. 151

[5] Aśvattha-Nārāyaṇa as a name for the *pīpal* tree is quite familiar in the South.

represented in his usual meditative attitude. The avatāra-verse in question in the Varāha-Perumāḷ temple, written in characters also of about the 8th century A.D. supports the view that the inclusion of Buddha in the *avatāras* of Vishṇu must have already become familiar in the 8th century. The *Vishvaksēna-Saṁhitā* actually mentions Buddha as a secondary *avatāra* of Vishṇu. The *Vishṇusahasranāma* includes the name. The Agni, Vishṇu, Varāha and the Bhāgavata purāṇas include Buddha in the ten *avatāras* of Vishṇu, but the Mahābhārata, Harivaṁśa and the Dēvībhāgavata do not.[1] In Hindu iconography we have a figure of Vishṇu in meditative posture called Yōgēśvara-Vishṇu (mentioned only by Hēmādri of the 13th century), which may be taken to represent the Buddha-avatāra of Vishṇu.

The inclusion of Buddha in the list of the ten *avatāras* of Vishṇu may not entirely be the result of a psychological connection established by the identification of Vishṇu with the *Aśvattha*-tree first and thence with Buddha because of the enlightenment of the latter under the *pīpal* tree. It may, as well have been due to the broad principles which guided the Brahminical framers of the Hindu pantheon as clearly stated in the Saṁhitā literature. An incarnation (*avatāra*), says Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, 'acted sometimes like a human being or even a brute and at the same time had the miraculous powers of a God.' It is no wonder then, that Buddha, with the bewildering powers displayed by him,—though non-Vedic and agnostic in his teachings—was easily counted as an *avatāra*, in the same manner as the sages Nārada, Sanatkumāra, Vēda-Vyāsa, Kapila, Dhanvantari, Dattātrēya, and the kings Pṛithu, Māndhātṛi and Arjuna. The Bhāgavata-Purāṇa includes in a similar way and for similar reasons the first Jaina Tīrthaṅkara, Ṛishabha (Ṛishabhanātha) among the *avatāras* of Vishṇu. The reverence thus accorded to Buddha by the Brahmanic Hindus does not however indicate that he was actually worshipped in a temple or shrine dedicated to him, in the same way as the Vaishṇava *avatāras* Varāha, Nārasiṁha, Vāmana (Trivikrama), Rāma and Kṛishṇa. This might have been so on account of Buddha's incarnation being considered to be either only a part (*aṁśa*) *avatāra* or to his teachings being, as stated above, agnostic and as such opposed to Vedic Hinduism.[2] Without assigning any particular reason the Yatīndramatadīpikā—a Vaishṇava poem of about the 16th century—says that some *avatāras* of Vishṇu are worshipped and some are not. Buddha may have been one of those *avatāras* who were not included in the category of gods worshipped for the sake of liberation. The reason why Buddha, in spite of his non-Vedic teaching, was at all included in the ten *avatāras* may have been because (1) the *ahiṁsā-dharma* which he preached was common to early Vaishṇavism as it was to Buddhism and Jainism and (2) the Vāsudēva (Kṛishṇa) cult of the Bhagavad-Gītā flourished in the 4th century B.C. simultaneously with these two religions.[3] It is now easy to understand also the Śilpa-śāstras which prescribe the Śrīvatsa, a sacred mark of Vishṇu as a special mark of Buddha images as well. The Sudarśana-chakra (discus) of Vishṇu corresponds perhaps to Buddha's *Dharmachakra*.

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[1] The age of the Purāṇas is not yet finally settled. Mr. Pargiter places some of them which give the genealogical lists of Kings, in the post-Gupta period. Some are decidedly much earlier.

[2] Buddha according to the Saṁhitās was a secondary *avatāra* of Kṛishṇa and could be worshipped, inasmuch as he was possessed of the quality of misleading the heretics to the great advantage of the faithful.

[3] See Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's *Vaishṇavism, Śaivism, etc.*, p. 46.

It might be noted that the *pīpal* tree, which in the Vedic age and the Epic times was revered as the seat of Gods and the home of the Holy Mothers and known by the name Kēśavāvāsa[1] seems to have become in the later Paurāṇic age, evidently on account of its connection with Buddha, the home of 'the goddess of ill-luck' (Jyēshṭhā). Two ways of development, says the Liṅga-Purāṇa,[2] are created by the Lord for mankind. One is that of the Brāhmaṇas, the Vēdas, the Vedic rituals and the pure goddess Śrī (Lakshmī) and the other that of her elder sister Jyēshṭhā, the goddess of ill-luck and evil and low class people who are outside the pale of the Vēdas. The story of Jyēshṭhā in the same Purāṇa states that she was married to a sage, who on that account was not admitted thenceforth into the houses of Brāhmaṇas that followed the Vedic ritual. Anxious for a place where he could dwell in peace with his wife, the sage asked the advice of Mārkaṇḍēya. This sage told him which places to avoid and which to adopt. Of these latter, the houses where images of Bhikshu, Kshapaṇaka or the Bauddha existed were stated to be the best places for Jyēshṭhā, the goddess of ill-luck and her husband to stay. The Pādma-Purāṇa giving a slightly different version of the same story states that the *pīpal* tree, which was another form of Vishṇu himself was fixed by that god to be the permanent abode of Jyēshṭhā or Alakshmī. This story divested of its *pauraṇic* ethics preferring the adoption of Vedic worship to the non-Vedic, seems to suggest the connection of the *pīpal* tree with Buddha and Buddhism and as such fit only for Jyēshṭhā to live. Thus it appears that though the connection of Buddha with Vishṇu as one of the latter's *avatāras* was accepted by the Purāṇas and Saṁhitas generally on account of his miraculous powers and his high position as a religious reformer, yet his non-Vedic teachings stood in the way of his being raised to the status of a worshipped god. Later on, perhaps after the time of Śaṅkarāchārya, he even came to be looked upon as the propagator of an *āsuric* form of religion and his symbol the *pīpal* tree (Bōdhi-druma, Kēśavāvāsa) became the abode of ill-luck.

The other verse which is Śaiva is written on the floor of the verandah (right side), in front of the Durgā group of images, in florid Pallava-Grantha characters (Plate I, A) of exactly the same type and size as those of the Rāmānuja-maṇḍapa, reproduced on Plate II facing page 8 of *Ep. Ind.* Vol. X, and transcribed at page 11 of the same volume. The text runs :—

1 धिक्तेषाम् धिक्तेषाम् पुनरपि धिग्धिग्धिगस्तु धिक्तेषाम् [।*] येषान्न वसति

2 हृदये कुपथगतिविमोच्चको रुद्रः [॥*]

If, as Professor Hultzsch says, the existence of this Śaiva verse in the so-called Rāmānuja-maṇḍapa at Mahābalipuram raises the presumption that the latter must have been a shrine of Śiva excavated during the reign of the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman I, a similar conclusion is not impossible in the case of the Varāha-Perumāḷ shrine also. The present image of Varāha in the central shrine is entirely

[1] See Dhanvantari quoted by Kshīrasvāmin in his commentary on Amarakōśa, II, 4, 20.
[2] Bombay Veṅkaṭēśvara Press Edition, Uttarabhāga, ch. VI.

covered with plaster and painted in colours and, so also are the walls of the central shrine completely plastered. Consequently, there is no possibility of clearing up the doubt as to whether the present rock-cut shrine of Varāha-Perumāḷ originally enshrined also an image of Śiva or not. But the occurrence of the name of the temple as that of Paramēśvara-Mahāvarāha-Vishṇugṛiha in a record[1] of the Chōḷa king Rājēndradēva (A.D. 1052-1064) in the same temple, proves that it must have been primarily a Vaishṇava shrine and that its founder was Paramēśvaravarman I, as may be inferred from the first part of the name. This conclusion tallies with the result arrived at above, by an independent study of the palæography of the label-inscriptions.

The Tamiḷ inscription (Plate I. B) on a slab built into[2] the floor in front of the temple, near the *bali-pīṭha,* belongs to the time of **Nandipōtavarman** of the **Pallava-**dynasty and is dated in his 65th year. The characters resemble those of Nandipōttar, Nandipōttaraiyar, Nandipōtavarman or Nandivarman Pallavamalla (first half of the eighth century) to whom belong (1) the Kāśākuḍi Plates of his 22nd year,[3] (2) the Udayēndiram Plates of the 21st year,[4] (3) the Mallam stone record[5] of the 15th year, (4) the Pañchapāṇḍavamalai record of the 50th year [6] and the Guḍimallam Inscription of the 23rd year [7]. The palæographic peculiarities show that in all these records—particularly the stone inscriptions (Nos. 3 and 4) and the Kāśākuḍi copper plates—the vocalic *u* added to the letters *t* and *n* is a tubelike curve as in the present inscription, sometimes turned more to the left in the copper-plate script; that the vocalic *ā* is the downward bend invariably attached to the right side of the letter, being sometimes much smaller in size than the letter itself, e.g., in the case of *tā*; and that the letter *va* is rounded at the bottom and has a narrow neck.[8] The letter *na* which in one case (l. 6) appears in its older form as in the Pallava-Grantha alphabet used in the Kāñchīpuram inscription of Rājasiṁha Narasiṁhavarman II, is found in the Kāśākuḍi Plates and again in the Kīḷmuṭṭugūr record of Kō-Vijaya-Narasiṁhavarman whom Dr. Fleet places immediately after Nandivarman Pallavamalla (Ep. Ind. Vol. V, p. 160). In many other respects too, (e.g., the formation of the letter *cha*) the Mahābalipuram inscription in its palæography corresponds to the Kīḷmuṭṭugūr record quoted above and hence there can be no doubt as to its being a record of Nandivarman Pallavamalla.

According to the geneaology given in the Kāśākuḍi Plates, Nandivarman Pallavamalla is known to have been a distant kinsman[9], from a collateral branch, of Paramēśvaravarman II, the last king of the Siṁhavishṇu line of the Pallavas. A full account of the circumstances under which **Nandivarman Pallavamalla** succeeded to the Pallava throne after the death of Paramēśvaravarman II is depicted in twelve

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1 South-Indian Inscriptions (Texts), Vol. IV, p. 113, No. 377.

2 Now removed from the floor by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar and kept standing in the premises of the temple.

3 *S.-I. Inscrs,* Vol. II, No. 73.

4 *Ibid.,* No. 74.

5 *Nellore Inscriptions,* p. 420 and Plate.

6 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV, pp. 136 ff.

7 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI, p. 224.

8 The Kāśākuḍi plates do not show any open space at all at the top of *na.*

9 In his Udayēndiram plates (*S.-I. I.,* Vol. II., p. 63) he calls himself the son of Paramēśvaravarman II.

sculptured scenes with explanatory labels on the south wall of the verandah running round the central shrine of the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ temple at Conjeeveram. It is stated therein : " The race of the Pallavas commenced with the creator Brahmā, and after the death of Paramēśvarappōttaraiyar (i.e., Paramēśvaravarman II), the kingdom having become kingless, the ministers, senators and the assembly consulted together and approached **Hiraṇyavarma-Mahārāja** of the **Kāḍavēśa** family and asked him to grant them a king. Hiraṇyavarman communicated this to some of the capable members of his family, who, however, refused to go. Then calling his own sons **Śrīmalla, Raṇamalla, Saṁgrāmamalla and Pallavamalla,** he enquired of them if any would accept. The first three having refused, the fourth, **Pallavamalla-Paramēśvara** consented. Though pleased with the noble resolve of this **Kāṭhaka** prince, the father was against sending this son who was then only twelve years old. At this stage, an old *āgamika* (āgāmika ?) of the court, called **Taraṇikoṇḍa-Pōsar** said : " this (prince) is one who is devoted to Mahā-Vishṇu. He must become an emperor." On this the required permission was granted and the prince started in a palanquin with Hiraṇyavarma-Mahārāja himself and Taraṇikoṇḍa-Pōśar leading the guarding armies. After going some distance the prince got down from the palanquin and taking leave of them, went on his way crossing several mountains, rivers and impassable forests. Hearing of his approach **Pallavadi-Araiyar** received him with a vast army, placed the prince on an elephant, took him to **Kāñchīpura-Mahānagar** (the capital), but himself died (?).[1] The Mahāsāmantas, the merchants (*nagarattār*)[2] and the assembly and **Kāḍakka Muttaraiyar** having heard of the prince's arrival, met him with honours and entered the Palace with him. Then, under the name **Nandivarman**, the circle of ministers, the feudatory chiefs, the two assemblies of administrators and the senators, crowned him emperor and decorated him with the insignia of royalty such as the peacock (?) parasol, the conch Samudraghōsha, the Khaṭvāṅga banner, the Bull-crest, etc., and offered him the royal seal Viḍēlviḍugu." This detailed description agrees, in the main, with what is hinted of him in the Kāśākuḍi plates. A recently discovered copper-plate record, to be soon published in the *Epigraphia Indica,* also confirms the very tender age of Nandivarman when installed on the Pallava throne. It says of him : आधत्त प्रथितबलो युवैव राज्यं i.e. " he of well-established strength, received the kingdom while he was yet a youth."

The terms Kāḍavēśa, Kāṭhaka and Kāḍakka which occur in the inscription are of much interest. The former, as the name of the family in which Hiraṇyavarman was born, gives us a clue as to what the position was of the descendants of Siṁhavishṇu's younger brother Bhīmavarman, during the active rule at Kāñchī of Siṁhavishṇu's son Mahēndravarman I and his successors. Kāḍavēśa means 'the chief of the Kāḍava' which, in the Tamil *Periyapurāṇam* occurs as a synonym for Pallava. The Taṇḍalam inscription (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII, p. 25) uses Kāḍava and Pallava in identically the same sense. The term also occurs in the Vēḷvikuḍi grant of the Pāṇḍya king Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṉ published in

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[1] Pallavadi-Araiyar was perhaps some distant kinsman of the king with, however, no right to succeed to the throne.

[2] The merchant community of the Nāṭṭukkōṭṭai Chetties are even now known by the name *nagarattar*.

Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XVII, No. 16, p. 308. Its interpretation as synonymous with Pallava was not hitherto based on any direct statement. Now we clearly see that the kings of the collateral line of Pallavas which descended from Bhīmavarman, were actually called Kāḍavas and ruled simultaneously with the Pallavas of the main line, somewhere over a distant part of the Pallava country. This latter fact is inferred from the statement that Pallavamalla had to go a long distance "crossing several mountains and impassable forests" to reach Kāñchī. Perhaps, we can even conclude from the frequent occurrence of the name Kāḍuveṭṭi and other allied forms of Kāḍava in records from the modern Cuddapah and Kurnool districts and the Mysore State that the Kāḍavas of the Bhīmavarman line ruled in those parts, though, later on, they claim to have ruled over Kāñchī also.[1] A Pallava ruler of the Telugu country at the time of the Chāḷukya invasion from the north under Satyāśraya of Ayōdhyā was Triṇayana of about the 6th century A.D. He is often mentioned in Telugu inscriptions as Triṇayana-Pallava or Mukkaṇṭi-Kāḍuveṭṭi, (see *Ep. Rep.* for 1908, p. 70 and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. X, p. 58). The Noḷamba-Pallavas of the Kanarese country also trace their origin to him. Kāḍakka-Muttaraiyar who joined with the chiefs and merchants of Kāñchī in installing Pallavamalla on the throne must have been another near kinsman of the Pallavas and an ancestor of Kāḍuvaṭṭi Muttarasa who about the end of the 9th century A.D. laid seige to Kōyatūr (Laddigam), a village included in the Punganur Zamindari of the Chittoor district, in the time of the Bāṇa king Vijayāditya II (see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XVII, p. 3). We learn further that the term Kāḍakka, through the Sanskritized Kāṭhaka, was also a form of Kāḍava (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII, p. 167, footnote 2).

The inscription records the gift of a pasture-land for calves (*kaṉṟu-mēy-kaḷani*) by one of the merchants (*nagarattār*) of Māmallapura, himself having purchased the land in question from a native of Kuṉṟattūr in the district of Āmūr-nāḍu. Āmūr and Kunnattūr are villages in the Chingleput taluk of the Chingleput district in the Madras Presidency.

TEXT.

Front of slab.

1 Svasti śrī-Palla[va*]-vaṁsasya[2][||*]Na[nti]-[3]
2 bōdhuvarmmaku[4] rā[j]yāvibhiddhya-[5]
3 ñ=chhelāniṉṟadu [6] āṟupattu-
4 [7]and-āvadu Māmalla[pu]-
5 rattu nagarattār Iḍaivaḷa[ñ]-
6 chāṉ Kaṇḍaṉ kaṉṟu-mē-[kaḷa]-
7 niy-āga koṇḍa nilam [||*] [Ā]-
8 mūr-nāṭṭu Kuṉṟattūr-i[ḍai]

[1] The *Vikrama-Śōḷaṉ-Ulā* refers to a Kāḍava ruler of Señji (Gingee) in the South Arcot District.
[2] Read *-vaṁśasya.*
[3] Read *Nandi*
[4] Read *-pōtavarmaṟku*
[5] Read *rājyābhivriddhya-*
[6] Read *=śellāniṉṟadu.*
[7] Read *aind-*

9 vāḷum Kuṉṟattūr-[kiḻā]-
10 r Iḷan-Paḍuvuṉār magaṉ . .[1]
11 ṉ Kaṇḍan-i[ḍai] kaṉṟu-mē-ka[ḷa]-
12 [ni]y-āga viṟṟukoṇḍa nilatt[u]-
13 [k]k=ellai[||*][2] Maḻiñai Nall[u]-
14 ḷār-tōṭṭa[t*]ti[ṉ] mēlkum [te]-

Back of slab.

15 [ṉ]päll-elai[3] kōnē-
16 [ri-i]ṉ vaḍakkum mēlpāl-
17 l-[e]llai[3] Māndai-talaiva[n]=
18 [ē]rikkum peru-vaḻi-iṉ [ki]-
19 [ḻak]kum vaḍapāl-elai[3] Pa-
20 nappāḍi-elai-i[ṉ][4] te-
21 [ṟku]m i-ṉāṇg-ellai
22 [a]gapaṭṭa[5] nilamum Kaṇḍan[i]-
23 ḍai viṟṟukoṇḍu po-
24 -ṉ Kaṉṟu-mē-kaḷaniy-
25 [kku] peyidāṉ [||*] Idu a-
26 [ḻi]yāmai kāttā[n=a]ḍi e-
27 [ṉ]=ṟallai[6] mēladu[||*]

TAMIL NAD ARCHIVES LIBRARY, EGMORE, MADRAS. 20047

TRANSLATION.

(L. 1). Hail to the glorious **Pallava** dynasty ! In the **sixty-fifth** year which is current in the increasing reign of **Nandipōtavarman**, Idaivaḷaññāṉ Kaṇḍaṉ (*one of*) the *nagarattār* (merchants ?) of **Māmallapuram** purchased (*the following*) land as *kaṉṟu-mē-kaḷani.*

(L. 8). (*The following are*) the boundaries of the land purchased for the purpose of a *kaṉṟu-mē-kaḷani* from [Kō]ṉ Kaṇḍaṉ, son of Iḷan Paḍuvuṉār the headman (*kiḻār*) of Kuṉṟattūr, who lives in **Kuṉṟattūr** (*a village*) of **Āmūr-nāḍu.**

(L. 13). [The Eastern boundary] (*is*) to the west of the garden of Maḻiñai Nalluḷār; the southern boundary (*is*) to the north of the square tank (*kōnēri*); the western boundary (*is*) to the east of the tank (*built by*) the chief of Māndai and of the big road; and the northern boundary (*is*) to the south of the Panappāḍi boundary.

(L. 20). The land included in these four boundaries was purchased from Kaṇḍaṉ and gold was given with libation (*of water*) for the *kaṉṟu-mē-kaḷani.*

(L. 24). The feet of him who protects this (*charity*) without diminution, shall be on my head.

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[1] Possibly the missing letter is *Kō-*

[2] The word *kīḻpāl=ellai* seems to have been omitted here.

[3] Read *pāl=ellai.*

[4] Read *-ellai-*

[5] Read *agappaṭṭa.*

[6] Read *ṟalai.*

INDEX.

[*N.B.*—The figures refer to pages; *n* after figures to footnotes and the figure following *n*, to the number of the footnote. Other abbreviations used are :—*co.*=country; *di.*=district, division; *dy.*=dynasty; *k.*=king; *m.*=man; *s.a.*=same as; *sur.*=surname; *te.*=temple; *vi.*=village, town.]

Ādiśēsha, *serpent-god*, **26,** 2.
Ādivarāha-Perumāḷ, *rock-cut temple* at Māvalivaram, **26,** 1.
āgamika (āgāmika?), **26,** 9.
Agni-Purāṇa, **26,** 6.
ahiṁsā-dharma, *creed*, **26,** 6.
Alakshmī, *s.a.* Jyēshṭhā, **26,** 7.
Amarakōśa, *lexicon*, **26,** 7n.
Āmūr-nāḍu, *di.*, **26,** 10, 11.
Āmūr, *vi.* (in the Chingleput district), **26,** 10.
Ārhata-śāstra, **26,** 5.
Arjuna, *Epic hero*, **26,** 6.
asura, **26,** 5.
Aśvattha or Aśvattha-Nārāyaṇa, *the pīpal tree*, **26,** 5n, 6.
athirāja (adhirāja), *title of kings*, **26,** 3 and n.
Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara, cave temple (at Śāḷuvaṅkuppam), **26,** 4.
avatāra, *an incarnation*, **26,** 6, 7.
Avatāras, the ten—of Vishṇu enumerated, **26,** 5.
Ayōdhyā, *vi.*, **26,** 10.
Bāṇa, *dy.*, **26,** 10.
Bhadravarman, *Campā k.*, **26,** 4.
Bhagavad-Gītā, *poem*, **26,** 6.
Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, **26,** 6.
Bhikshu, image of, **26,** 7.
Bhīmavarman, *Kāḍava k.*, **26,** 9, 10.
Boar Incarnation of Vishṇu, **26,** 2.
Bōdh Gaya, *vi.*, **26,** 5.
Bōdhi-druma, *the pīpal tree*, **26,** 7.
Brahmā, *god*, **26,** 9; *image*, **26,** 2.
Brāhmaṇa (Brāhman), *caste*, **26,** 7.
Brāhmī, *alphabet*, **26,** 4.
Buddha, *avatāra* of Vishṇu, **26,** 5, 6; *image*, **26,** 6, 7; *saint*, **26,** 5, 6.
Buddhist, **26,** 5.
Buffalo-Demon, **26,** 2.
Bull-crest, **26,** 9.
Campā, *vi.* (in Indo-China), inscription from, **26,** 4.
Chālukya, *dy.*, **26,** 10; —Western, *dy.*, **26,** 4.
chinmudrā, pose of fingers in Indian sculpture, **26,** 2.

Chōḷa, *co.*, conquered by Mahēndravarman I, **26**, 3, —*dy.*, **26**, 8.
Conjeeveram, *see* Kāñchīpuram.
Dakshiṇāmūrti, *god*, **26**, 2n.
Daśāvatārastōtra, *poem*, **26**, 5.
Dattātrēya, *sage*, **26**, 6.
Dēvībhāgavata-Purāṇa, **26**, 6.
Dhanvantari, **26**, 6, 7n.
Dharmachakra, *symbol* of Buddha, **26**, 6.
Dharmarāja-Ratha, name of one of the monolithic cars at Māvalivaram, **26**, 4.
Durgā, *goddess*, **26**, 2, 7 ; —*image*, **26**, 2, 7.
dvārapāla, *image*, **26**, 2.
Gaṅgādhara, *image*, (a form of Śiva), **26**, 2.
Gaṅgā, *river* and *goddess*, **26**, 2.
Grantha, *alphabet*, the middle variety of, **26**, 4.
Guḍimallam, *vi.* (in the North Arcot district), inscription from, **26**, 8.
Harivaṁśa, **26**, 6.
Hēmādri, *author*, **26**, 6.
Hiraṇyavarman or Hiraṇyavarma-Mahārāja, *Kāḍava k.*, **26**, 9.
Iḍaivaḷañjān Kaṇḍan, *m.*, **26**, 11.
Iḷan Paḍuvuṇār, *m.*, **26**, 11.
Jaina, **26**, 5, 6.
Jyēshṭhā, *goddess* of ill-luck, **26**, 7.
Kāḍakka, *s.a.* Kāḍava, **26**, 9, 10.
Kāḍakka-Muttaraiyar, *m.*, **26**, 9, 10.
Kāḍava or Kāḍavēśa, *family*, **26**, 9, 10 and 10n.
Kāḍava, *s.a.* Pallava, **26**, 9.
Kāḍuvaṭṭi Muttarasa, *k.*, **26**, 10.
Kāḍuveṭṭi, *s.a.* Kāḍava, **26**, 10.
Kalkin, *avatāra* of Vishṇu, **26**, 5.
Kāñchī, Kāñchīpuram (Conjeeveram), or Kāñchīpura-Mahānagar, *vi.*, **26**, 9, 10 ; inscription from, **26**, 8, 9, 10.
Kaṇḍan, *s.a.* Kōṉ Kaṇḍan, **26**, 11.
Kapila, *sage*, **26**, 6.
karaṇḍa-makuṭa, *form of crown* in Indian sculpture, **26**, 2.
Kāśākuḍi, *vi.* (in Karikal commune), plates from, **26**, 8, 9.
Kāṭhaka, *Skt. form of* Kāḍava, **26**, 9, 10.
Kēśavāvāsa, *the pīpal tree*, **26**, 7.
khaṭvāṅga banner, **26**, 9.
kiḻār (also *kiḻāṉ*), *the headman of a village*, **26**, 11.
Kīḻmuṭṭugūr, *vi.* (in the North Arcot district), inscription from, **26**, 8.
Koeti, *vi.* (in East Borneo), **26**, 3, 4 and 4n.
kōnēri (kōnēru), *a stone-faced tank*, **26**, 11.
Kōṉ Kaṇḍan, *m.*, **26**, 11.
Kō-Vijaya-Narasiṁhavarman, Gaṅga-Pallava *k.*, **26**, 8.
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Mahāsāmanta, **26**, 9.
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Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṉ, Pāṇḍya *k.*, **26**, 9.
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Noḷamba-Pallava, *dy.*, **26**, 10.
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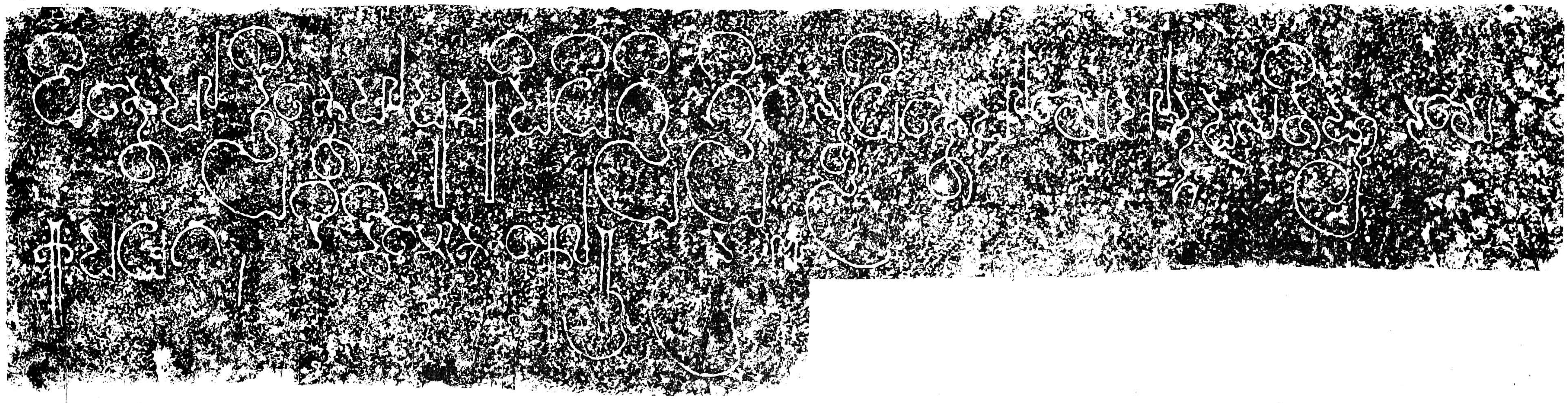
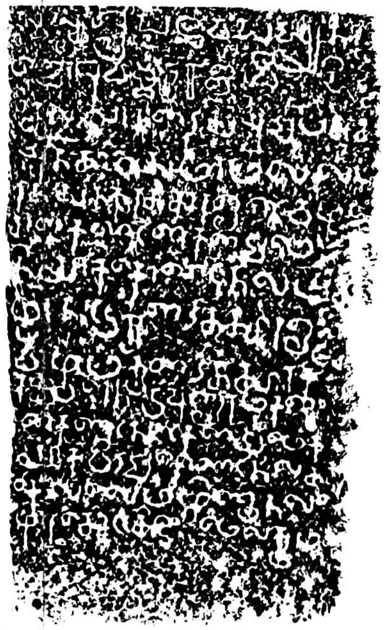
Five Pallava Inscriptions from the Adivaraha-Perumal Temple, Mahabalipuram.

A.



B

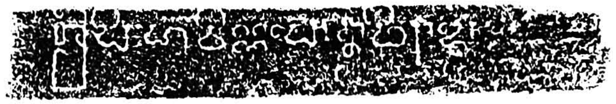
Front.



Back.

C.

D.



E.

Plate I.

H. Krishna Sastri.

SCALE ONE TWELFTH.

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TWO STATUES OF PALLAVA KINGS FROM THE ADIVARAHA TEMPLE AT MAHABALIPURAM.

SIMHAVISHNU AND HIS QUEENS.

MAHENDRAVARMAN AND HIS QUEENS.

PLATE II.

From photographs by Mr. P. Visvanatha Aiyar, of the Madras Epigraphy Office.